control. This control, however, cannot be exercised by everyone. A long period of training and the knowledge of secret rites is necessary before a person can get into touch with the spirit world. Although many Terena, in the past, practiced sympathetic and contagious magic, it was, however, only the shamans who could operate through the agency of spirits. A properly trained shaman, *koishúmuneti*, would fall into a trance and his soul would visit the ghosts of dead shamans, *Voropí* and *Vanónu*, as well as be in contact with the souls of the living. Every shaman had a special spirit, usually the ghost of a dead shaman, at his service. This ghost would tell the shaman what he wanted to know and would also perform tasks demanded by the shaman. These spirits would appear to the shaman in the form of animals, snakes, or birds while the shaman was in a trance.

To call his special spirit helper a shaman painted his body and face with red and black circles and began to chant and dance. In one hand he held a gourd rattle, *itáaka*, and in the other a bunch of rhea feathers, *kí'pahé*. The *kí'pahé* looks like a feather duster with the handle cut off very short. When contact with the spirit is made the shaman puts his question or makes his request. The rite varies, of course, with the situation, a curing ceremony being different from one in which a lost object is to be discovered. These performances are customarily carried out at night.

The principal function of the shaman is to cure sickness. The Terena have two theories about illness, one that foreign objects enter the body, and second, that the soul of the sick person leaves the body. Foreign objects may be forced to enter the body either through witchcraft as practiced by some living person or by an evil spirit or ghost. Souls, too, are stolen by spirits and can be removed through witchcraft. The task of the shaman is to remove the injurious object or to return the soul to the body.

During a curing ceremony the patient would lie on the floor of a hut and the shaman would dance slowly around him chanting and shaking his gourd rattle. When the shaman fell into a trance and his spirit helper appeared, the spirit would ask, "Why have you called me?" The shaman would answer, "I have called you to tell me why this person is ill and to tell me how I can cure him."

[Chaco Period]

The spirit would then explain the cause of the illness and what the shaman should do. If a foreign object was causing illness the shaman would suck the painful part of the body, later removing the object from his mouth and showing it to the patient and those present. These objects were usually said to be pieces of bone, sticks of wood, or worms. If the soul had been removed the shaman's spirit helper would return it to the body of the patient. 756 755

Shamans were also called upon to cause illness. This the shaman did by dancing and chanting all night, calling on the soul of the person whom he wished to make ill. When the soul appeared before him the shaman would force the soul of a snake or frog to enter the bewitched person's body. The soul would remain in the power of the shaman and would do his bidding while the bewitched person became ill. 756 754 [774]

Injuries and some ailments the shamans are said to have cured by medicines made from roots and herbs. But in this case, too, the shaman's spirit helper informed the shaman what roots and herbs he should use. 756 757 [787]

To discover the whereabouts of game, lost objects, and the location of enemy war parties, in the past, shamans would either send their spirit helpers to investigate and inform them or the shamans would find out for themselves by sending their own souls as scouts. 756 787

Shamans would also tell people how to prepare amulets and charms against dangers to the body, to fields, and to livestock, and how to prepare love medicines and to make charms to bring about success in hunting and fishing. These charms were effective, it was believed, because the shamans knew the properties of certain plants or inanimate objects which would bring about the results required. 756 789 832

An important function of Terena shamans was the selection and training of new shamans. Old shamans selected novices from among their children or other young people in the village who expressed their willingness to undertake the rigorous training required. A certain amount of seclusion and the avoidance of fat and salt was demanded for the novices. The initiation of novices usually took place during the annual shaman festival. The novice was given a small snake, bird, or plant which he was supposed to swallow. During 756 [262] [263] [774] [787]

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and holding his *kí'paká*. If people are present he makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. *"Giahí kaponó neishá vomorí"* (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who are said to cure people by blessing them in the Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

[P. 45-B]

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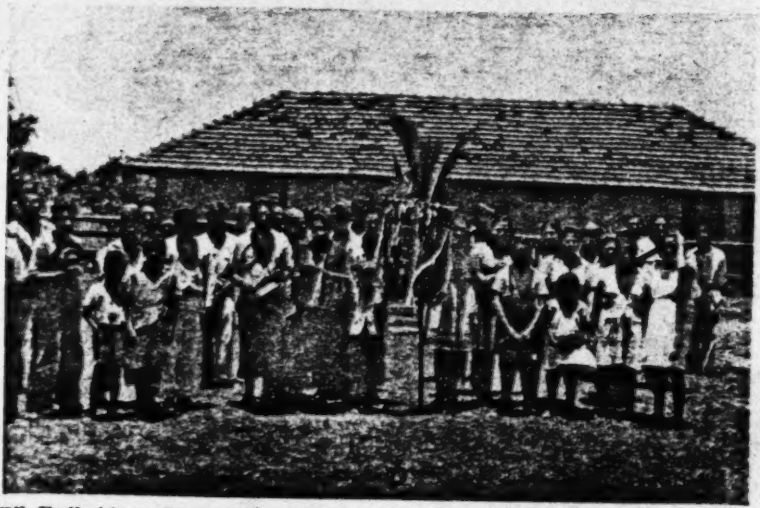

PLATE 10.—The old and the new religion of the Terena. a, Shamans dancing around sick man. b, St. Sebastian Day procession with decorated house

[End Plate 10]

[P. 82]

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer, who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature, and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

/107 cont./ Excluding
771 their shamanistic rituals--now reduced to a mere technique for
[765] fighting sicknesses--, the poverty of the ceremonial and of
797 the beliefs in an extraterrestrial world is flagrant. It is true
[171] that the Terêna have had more than a century of systematic contact with Catholic missions, but it is also true that the Guarani have had more, and nevertheless have shown a much greater
771 religious vitality. Unfortunately we do not have data that
171 would permit us to compare the religious activities, Protestant or Catholic, exercised among the Guarani groups, with those exercised among the Terêna. But, to judge by the works of Curt Nimuendaju and Ego Schaden, Guarani culture is indeed characterized by the importance that the religious system holds within it and by the high mysticism of its members. Which
771 precisely is not the case among the Terêna. Among these,
797 the Christian faiths penetrated but in a much more formal
177 way--by means of their ceremonials--than as new means for explaining the world. In this sense, the Terêna showed much realism, to the point of not substituting Christian cosmogony for their traditional system of beliefs when the latter broke down. The impression gained, after living with them several months, is that they care little about the supernatural, actually to a much lesser extent than the inlander of the region.
[795] /108/ With the possible exception of a few individuals, "Be-
[571] lievers," to the majority the new faiths were only a cloak, something external to individual conscience, valid as a source of "status" and of parts that help in the adjustment of individuals to the new situations created by the changing communities. (168)

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168. Each of the groups has its stereotype: the "Catholic" is regarded as a vagrant, great drunkard, and merrymaker; the "Protestant," as pious, hard-working, and honest. This is what the "Believer"

/116 cont./

178 535 621 184

participation in activities of this sort very difficult.

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It is true that these variables are significant to an understanding of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes still in force in the old aldeas, such as the traditional forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor, all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever there is a Koixomuneti--and they are spread through all the aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that the old Oheokoti, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared, replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to 1955 (!), in Bananal, the Oheokoti was performed with some regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the Yanakalu, by the collective meal, and concluded with the Mootó. (186)

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186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/116 cont./

178 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete
796 Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from
the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/
[614] date as that of the last Mootő. Since then, the collective
[528] Mootő has become an individual affair: when a Xumonő
Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited
a Sukirikionő to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were
both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of
prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious
[756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said,
the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact
that the term is still in force as a general designation for the
magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.
178 Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the
796 usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of
756 healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies
775 directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each
[255] Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the
[787] spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great
prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be
teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on
specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies
that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.
[177]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongő," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/117 cont./

178 796 756 775 [165]

Campo Grande. All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

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Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

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This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical